



THE COVER

This month's cover consist basically of two parts; the over-all look at the cover as a whole, and the inner look at "El Boricua's" emblem within the cover.

The over-all look at the cover represents the whirlpool of events and problems which we are all caught in. Drugs, pollution, racism, and imperialism are only a few of the problems which confront us everyday of our lives.

The inner look at "El Boricua's" emblem, designed by Antonio Rivera, represents that even our little newspaper is caught within this whirlpool of society's problems.

The emblem is composed of the flag of Puerto Rico enclosed within its map. From the top of the map protrude three fists, each representing one of the three races which form the Puerto Rican. The three fists become one near the end, representing that all three races are really one ---the Puerto Rican race. The hands are in the shape of fists to represent the struggles that we have gone through in keeping our culture and heritage. All this is completed by the name "El Boricua" at the bottom. From the name given to our island by it's first inhabitants----The Taino Indians.

LA CUBIERTA

Este mes la cubierta de "El Boricua" consiste fundamentalmente de dos partes; una recoge el panorama completo de la cubierta y hacia el interior se distingue el emblema que caracteriza nuestro periodico.

La cubierta como un todo recoge el remolino de situaciones y problemas en los cuales esta envuelto el puertorriqueño en esta sociedad: drogas, contaminación ambiental, racismo, guerras, violencia e imperialismo. Estos solo son algunos problemas con los cuales nos enfrentamos en nuestro diario vivir.

La parte interior (el emblema) representa que hasta nuestro pequeño periodico esta envuelto el estos problemas de la sociedad.

En el emblema se intercala la bandera de Puerto Rico dentro del mapa de nuestra isla. De la parte superior del mapa surgen tres puños, cada representando las tres razas que forman la personalidad del hombre puertorriqueño. Los tres puños se aproximan, simbolizando que las tres razas se juntan en una: la PUERTORRIQUEÑA, y representan el lucha que los Boricuas han llevado a cabo a traves de su historia por mantener su herencia historica y cultural. Todo esto se resume en el nombre "El Boricua". De el nombre dado a nuestra isla por sus primeros habitantes----Los Indios Tainos.

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This section of the paper is designed to show the progress of the Puerto Rican students in the field of Education. It would include progress reports of those Puerto Ricans who have applied to college, and the many college programs which have been opened to Puerto Ricans.

The following article is taken from the June 1970 issue of Ramparts Magazine.

Puerto Rico: Our Backyard Colony

by Michael Meyerson

CITIZENS OF SAN JUAN were not surprised when they awakened one morning early this February to find that the Selective Service office, the local branch of General Electric and a portion of the El San Juan Hilton Hotel had all been bombed. Such attacks, carried out by a group calling itself Armed Commandos for Liberation (CAL), have become a fact of daily life in Puerto Rico. As the movement for independence from the U.S. has gained in momentum, more than a hundred bombings, the majority aimed at American corporations, have shaken the

island over the past year alone. Of all the targets for this assault, one of the most obvious has been the popular image of Puerto Rico as the "happy commonwealth"—a sultry playground for American tourists and the showcase of U.S.-guided progress in the Caribbean. While the dust from the first pro-independence explosions was still settling, more and more Puerto Ricans, especially the young, were beginning to see how this tourbook rhetoric was used to conceal the bitter fact that their island was and is the only classic colony in the American experience.

FOR PUERTO RICANS, COLONIAL status is nothing new. They have spent the last five centuries under the rule of one Western country or another. Puerto Rico came close to achieving independence in the late 1800s, winning an autonomous constitution from Spain, only to lose it a year later when the island was "ceded" to the U.S. as part of the spoils of victory in the Spanish-American War. Ruled first by the U.S. military, then by presidential appointees and only recently by an elected governor, Puerto Ricans have had little power over the fate of their island; they were even made U.S. citizens over the objection of their one elected body.

Today the island legislature's powers are limited to traffic regulations and the like. Real political power resides in the U.S. House Committee on Insular Affairs and the Senate Committee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, both of which meet in Washington, D.C., some 1500 miles from San Juan. Appeals from Puerto Rican courts are decided in Boston and final jurisdiction rests with the U.S. Supreme Court.

U.S. federal agencies control the country's foreign relations, customs, immigration, post office system, communications, radio, television, commerce, transportation, maritime laws, military service, social security, banks, currency and defense—all of this without the people of Puerto Rico having a vote in U.S. elections.

The extent of U.S. military control of the country is particularly striking. One cannot drive five miles in any direction without running into an army base, nuclear site or tracking station. Green Berets were recently discovered in the famed El Yunque National Rain Forest, presumably using the island as a training ground.

The Pentagon controls 13 per cent of Puerto Rico's land and has five atomic bases, including Ramey Air Base. A major base for the Strategic Air Command, Ramey includes in its confines everything from guided missiles to radio jamming stations which prevent Radio Havana from reaching Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. In addition to the major bases, there are about 100 medium and small military installations, training camps, and radar and radio stations.

IN THE LATE 1940S, PUERTO RICO became the target of Operation Bootstrap. Hailed as an economic "New Deal" for the island, Bootstrap bore the kind of name that encourages Americans to believe unquestioningly in their country's selfless generosity to other peoples. In truth, the new program was a textbook-perfect example of imperialism, guaranteeing tax-free investment to U.S. firms developing the island as a market for U.S. goods. (As the Wall Street Journal put it: "Two million potential customers live on Puerto Rico, but the hopeful industrial planners see it as the shopping center for the entire Caribbean popu-

lation of 13 million.") While it fed America's sense of self-righteousness and brought profits to U.S. investors, Bootstrap left untouched the misery of the majority of Puerto Rico's 2.5 million inhabitants. In fact, by limiting the development of the island's economy and forcing continual dependence on the U.S., Bootstrap deepened the cycle of poverty in Puerto Rico.

Over one million *boricueños* have left their native land for the *barrios* of East Harlem and South Bronx. That one-third of a nation would escape into exile to the slums of New York testifies to the living conditions in the Caribbean "paradise."



Photo: Mike Stupper/LAIS

Four out of every five Puerto Rican families earn less than \$3000 per year; one half receive less than \$1000 annually. Oscar Lewis puts unemployment at 14 per cent; knowledgeable Puerto Ricans insist that a figure as high as 30 per cent is more realistic. That is a permanent condition twice as bad as the depths of the Great Depression in this country. Per capita income in Mississippi, our poorest state, was 81 per cent higher than in Puerto Rico in 1960. Whereas wages are a fraction of those on the mainland, the cost of living on the island is higher. Most statistics place island costs at 25 per cent higher than those in New York, Chicago or Boston.

Housing for most Puerto Ricans is abominable. In many a rural town, the only livable building is the town jail. Even government agencies consider 46 per cent of Puerto Rico's housing to be inadequate. Not atypical is the Los Chinos district of Ponce (Puerto Rico's second largest city), one of several slum areas, made up of thousands of one-room dirt-floor shacks inhabited by eight- and ten-member families. Groups of these families share a single outdoor toilet.

To most tourists, San Juan is Puerto Rico, and the Condado district (the strip of luxury hotels that accommodate tourists in increasing numbers each year) is San Juan. But within walking distance of the Caribe Hilton and the Flumboy Hotel on the Condado are some of the worst slums in the Americas. Their picturesque names throw into bold relief the horror of their reality—La Perla (The Pearl), Los Bravos de Boston, etc. One slum, El Fangito, stretches for five miles along a rat-infested swamp which seeps with San Juan's sewage.

On a walk through Los Bravos de Boston, I met a woman standing outside what can only euphemistically be called a house. Made of bulletin board, sealed together with bailing wire and topped by a sheet of tin, the shack would have been blown over by a healthy gust of wind. The wretched home, six by six feet, housed the woman, her husband and two babies. As we spoke, an infant slept outside at our feet, his bed the basket of a rusty shopping cart. The mother, in a state of despair, had learned only that morning that the government was going to move the shack elsewhere that day, and there was no way to contact her husband, a construction worker, to tell him where to come when his day ended.

IF IT DOES LITTLE TO IMPROVE the lot of the poor, Bootstrap has by any standards been a bargain for investors. Offering U.S. firms cheap labor and tax "holidays" of 10 to 17 years, Bootstrap was hailed by Hubert Humphrey as the "miracle of the Caribbean."

As the colonial government reports: "Manufacturers average 30 per cent on their investment—thanks to the productivity of Puerto Rico's three-quarter million willing, able workers. Profits in electronics run 10.8 times those of the mainland industry's average." Every dollar invested has brought a profit of 30 cents during the first year. U.S. investments in Puerto Rico are the highest—after Venezuela—in all of Latin America.

For every dollar produced in the island's industrial system, only 17 cents is left in Puerto Rico. Only Britain, Canada, Japan and West Germany import more U.S. goods. This island of less than three million people buys more from us than do Spain, Portugal, Austria, Ireland and the four Scandinavian nations combined.

Sugar and petroleum account for most of the country's industry. The sugar industry, controlled by three U.S. companies (the Central Aguirre Sugar Company, owned by the First National Bank of Boston; C. Brewer & Company; and the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company of New Jersey, the largest owner of cane plantations in the world), is a classroom model of neo-colonialism. It accounts for half the island's agricultural income—a fact determined not by the agricultural needs of the island but by the U.S. sugar quota. Impoverished Puerto Rican plantation workers chop the cane for tax-free U.S. companies, ship the raw product to the States where it is refined, packaged and taxed, and then buy back the finished product at exorbitant prices.

Only the petrochemical industry has seen a bigger growth in Puerto Rico, with heavy investments from every major U.S. petroleum corporation—Phillips, Union Carbide, Texaco, Standard, etc. Virtually ringing the Caribbean coast of the island in search of offshore oil, they have caused severe pollution in some of the best fishing waters in the world. This, together with the fact that the federal government prohibits Puerto Rico from maintaining its own fishing fleet, has resulted in the island's being forced to import 95 per cent of the fish it consumes.

Early in the 1950s, huge copper deposits were discovered in the interior. American Metal Climax and Kennicott

Copper, operating through subsidiaries, moved in, taking exclusive rights to the deposits. Comparable in size to the largest deposits in this country, their ore value is higher than any in the United States. The deposits are worth at least \$1.5 billion; American Metal Climax paid Puerto Rico just ten dollars for an exploration permit.

News of the deposits and of the negotiations between the two companies and the government was kept secret until the Pro-Independence Movement got word of the talks and began a public campaign. Through picketing, diplomatic protests and local organizing, the independenceists have for four years successfully prevented the companies from starting production. Although the contract has not been signed yet, speculation is that with 64-year-old millionaire industrialist Luis Ferré as the new governor, the signing is imminent.

Washington propaganda has always held that Puerto Rico has no riches, that it needs the United States, hence independence is unreasonable. Now Japan has offered the country a better deal on its copper than have the U.S. companies, but its colonial position prohibits Puerto Rico from engaging in foreign trade. Undoubtedly, its oil, sugar, tobacco and coffee could also attract better prices if offered competitively. There seems no way to check or reverse the depletion of Puerto Rico's riches other than independence. The major argument against independence, aside from lack of natural wealth, has been the size of the country. But Puerto Rico has more people than the island nations of Cyprus and Jamaica; than eight Latin American countries, including Paraguay, Costa Rica and Panama; than some 32 member states of the United Nations, including Laos, Israel, Jordan, Albania and Lebanon.

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LEADING THE DRIVE for independence from U.S. domination is the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI). A prominently displayed painting dominates the offices of the MPI in San Juan. The picture, depicting the Ponce Massacre of March 1937 when police beat and killed nationalist demonstrators, was painted by Fran Cervoni, one of Puerto Rico's most important artists

and a member of MPI's Political Commission. Only part of the painting remains as the artist rendered it, the canvas having been salvaged from the fire which destroyed the MPI headquarters in November 1965. Nobody one encounters has the slightest doubt that the arsonists were agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Today, new fires are being set in Puerto Rico, but this time the flames are spreading in a different direction. Since New Year's Eve 1967, at least 75 fires aimed at North American properties have caused damage ranging in estimates from 25 to 75 million dollars. No one has been caught; no evidence has been found; no witnesses have come forth. But a group calling itself the Armed Commandos for Liberation (CAL) has taken credit for the action. To the chagrin of the properties, no one can prove who belongs to CAL, although the press has attempted to tie the group to MPI. Police have even arrested local MPI leaders in connection with the bombings, but were forced to release them for lack of anything resembling evidence.

The island, already blanketed by CIA and FBI agents, has practically suffocated with the massive invasion of reinforcements from those two agencies. The Wackenhut Corporation, a Miami-based security firm, boosted its guard force by 40 per cent in less than a year, the bulk going to watch over U.S. holdings in Puerto Rico. Bargain Town, one of whose stores was fire-bombed, now has Burns Agency guards, equipped with fire masks and with fire-fighting equipment, both inside and outside its stores 24 hours a day. Still the bombings continue.

The goal, says CAL leader Alfonso Beal, is to make it so costly to stay in Puerto Rico that they leave. "We are in the first stage of operations," he says, "and in this phase we intend to cause \$100 million worth of damage to U.S. concerns. Our idea is to inflict such heavy losses on these enterprises that the insurance companies will have to pay more money in indemnity than they have received in payment, thus upsetting the economy."

On September 23, 1968, the centenary of the Grito de Lares, the rebellion against Spanish colonialism, CAL issued a statement declaring the tourist strip of Condado a "zone of war" and asking

El artículo que publica la revista Ramparts tiene especial interés para nosotros los Puertorriqueños por varias razones: 1) los norteamericanos comienzan a ver los Puertorriqueños en forma diferente a como usualmente lo hacían. Ya no nos ven como un pueblo mangotado sino como un pueblo en lucha constante por defender lo que por ley natural les pertenece; 2) es significativo que una revista tan prestigiosa como lo es Ramparts se haya fijado en la lucha de los Puertorriqueños (en la isla), lo cual nos indica que se nos comienza a respetar como pueblo dispuesto a defender lo que le pertenece.

No hay que ser muy inteligente para uno darse cuenta de cual es la realidad de nosotros como Puertorriqueños. Nuestra realidad es una realidad de injusticias y de explotación descarada. No queremos hacer juicios sobre el artículo. Los números y estadísticas son lo suficientemente claros para entender la realidad. Sean ustedes lectores, los jueces y decidan...

Los Editores

The article published in Ramparts Magazine has a great significance to us for various reasons: 1) the Northamericans begin to see us, the Puerto Rican, in a different way. They no longer see us as an "Uncle Tom" people, but as a nation in constant struggle to regain what is rightfully ours: 2) it is very significant that such a distinguished magazine as Ramparts has acknowledge the struggle of the Puerto Rican People (on the island), which indicates to us that they are beginning to respect us as a country prepared to defend itself.

It doesn't require much intelligence to figure out what is happening to the Puerto Ricans. Our story is a story of injustice and exploitation. We do not wish to judge the article. The figures and statistics are sufficiently clear to understand the problem. You are the readers, the judges who must decide...

The Editors



Puerto Ricans to stay out, "especially in the evening hours." At an open-air ceremony commemorating the Grito de Lares that same afternoon, attended by some 20,000 *independentistas*, Juan Mari Bras, MPI general secretary, paid tribute to those who have begun to engage in "the highest form of struggle, armed struggle. The crowd took up the chant: "Fuego! Fuego! Fuego! Fire! Fire! Fire!"

The cadres of MPI are serious revolutionaries. They are dedicated, committed to the long-range struggle, have very few illusions about their "objective reality" and are terribly energetic. This is true both of the top leadership and of the activists.

In Aguadilla, a town 60 miles west of San Juan, in the northwest corner of the rectangular island, MPI has established the Jose de Diego Mission. There are some two dozen such central missions scattered throughout Puerto Rico supported by twice as many "patriotic missions." A central mission is one with its own headquarters, the facilities to print leaflets and the organization to distribute literature. Patriotic missions are groups of cadres in the surrounding towns who, working out of the central missions, strive to expand their organization to the point that they have strength enough to become central missions themselves.

The Aguadilla mission has, in addition

to the familiar posters of Latin revolutionary heroes, the slogan in large black letters: "Diablos, No! No Iremos!" (Hell No, We Won't Go!). The town is located on the coast, and the shacks pile on top of one another, ascending to the peak of the hill overlooking the Atlantic. The slums get poorer as the landscape rises. At the top stands the pride of the Diego Mission—the first *zona libre* (free zone) of Puerto Rico. Made up of clusters of the worst shanties in Aguadilla, the zone's official name is Cerra Villa Nuevo. It has been organized by MPI, which now has the near-unanimous backing of the people there. Today, the police no longer venture into Cerra Villa Nuevo.

Many hundreds of families populate the free zone (the total population of Aguadilla is placed at around 50,000). The dirt paths that pass for roads are filled with mango, limping dogs, pigs and goats. Due to the continuing expansion of U.S. military bases, tracking stations and radio intelligence centers, land is becoming scarce and the rural poor are being forced off their land and herded into already overcrowded city slums. Aguadilla is faced with massive unemployment and the figures extend far above the estimated 30 per cent for the whole of the island.

On the day I met him, Julio Alvarez, one of Cerra Villa Nuevo's most active MPI cadres, was on trial for burning the

U.S. flag. In contrast to the severe penalties dealt out to Julio's contemporaries in the States for similar offenses, the young man only received a fine of \$25. The courts apparently fear to tread on Puerto Rican national feeling.

Julio's shack in the free zone, perhaps a dozen feet square, contains a "kitchen with a mini-stove and an outdoor sink which one must stretch out of the window to reach. Boiling on the stove was a pot of yucca root, Julio's dinner. One wall features a half-dozen water colors painted by Julio. His bookshelf, a made-over produce crate, contains Dostoyevsky's *House of the Dead*, *The Idiot* and *The Brothers Karamazov*; some works of Cervantes; and books on Monet, Manet and Turner. Whatever else life denies him, Julio Alvarez's intellectual pursuits will continue. It is Julio and hundreds of his neighbors who comprise the population of the island's first *zona libre*.

WOMEN ARE CONSPICUOUSLY few in the movement's leadership, not an uncommon situation on the Latin continent. One of the exceptions is Lucila Andino, the 25-year-old director of the Carolina Mission. Her district stretches perhaps 25 miles east to Luquillo, the town surrounding Puerto Rico's most famous and luscious strip of beach. Included in the area is the village of Loiza Alta,

which must be reached by raft. Loiza is populated almost entirely by black Puerto Ricans, and the origin of this ethnic make-up is a subject of constant speculation. Consensus generally holds that a slave ship capsized off Loiza's coast and the slaves that made it to shore settled in the area; it then became a haven for runaway slaves.

Lucila is one of two female mission directors of MPI; the second heads the organization in Mayaguez. Puerto Rico's fourth largest city. Perhaps a major reason for this lack of women cadres in the movement, aside from the obvious one of the general status of women in Puerto Rican society, is that much of the recent growth of MPI has come through its anti-draft activities. In 1966, a young worker named Sixto Alvelo became the colony's first draft resister. Within a year, MPI's newspaper *Claridad* printed a full-page advertisement listing the signatures of 1000 Puerto Rican youths who joined the Resistance. They stated their refusal to recognize what they consider to be a colonial draft, to serve in a foreign army, and they expressed their solidarity with the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. (In 1965, MPI had established a fraternal relationship with the NLF.) The ranks of the thousand have since been swelled much beyond that. Rarely does a day go by when a young resister is not arrested.

One of MPI's most encouraging recent developments is the success of FEPI, the high school independence movement. The high school organization serves not only to radicalize the hundreds of thousands of young people (half the island's population is under 25); it also provides the movement with a major wedge into the working class and peasantry.

Ponce is Governor Ferré's town and main base. In addition to his cement factories and his newspaper, *El Día*, he has uncounted real estate holdings, foundries and much of the most costly land in the city. Yet here too the MPI is extremely active.

In the slums of Los Chinos, and in La Playa near the Caribbean, as throughout the city of Ponce, the MPI mission conducts nightly "ciné-meetings." In the twilight hours, portable bulletin boards filled with news, posters and photo-

graphs are set up at a given intersection. As night falls, speakers make a brief presentation of the movement's program and ask for support, and then projectors show films, imported from Cuba and Vietnam, projected onto the wall of a windowless building. As many as 600 neighbors come to these meetings, even though chances are good that they will be interrogated by the FBI the following day.

* * *

MPI INSISTS THAT SOCIAL justice and independence will not be achieved through the established electoral process, for whatever laws are passed in San Juan are subject to approval by Washington. At election time, the movement is actively engaged in promoting the boycott as a political weapon. There are the remnants still of the independentist electoral party, PIP, but it has pretty much deteriorated as MPI gains strength and as the reality of the colonial situation becomes ever more apparent. Little more than 40 per cent of the eligible voters are registered and of that number only perhaps half bother to cast their ballots.

While MPI is firm in its principled opposition to the colonial establishment, it maintains active supporters within the establishment. These are referred to as its *segundo nivel*, its second-level membership. In the political parties, the government and the press, the second level acts as a source of intelligence for MPI, letting it know of impending arrests or study government dealings. In 1967, for example, *Claridad*, the movement's weekly paper, broke the story of the hitherto undisclosed discovery of copper in the center of the island.

It is the work in the copper areas and the slums, and similar organization among the petroleum workers, that has brought about the radicalization of MPI and the search for fundamental social change, say movement spokesmen. In April 1968, Juan Mari Bras announced that MPI would uphold the right of Puerto Rico to use any methods, including armed struggle, to achieve its independence. In the midst of a press campaign to determine who was behind the recent wave of bombings, and attempts to tie MPI to CAL, the announcement caused a sensation.

MPI CALLS ITSELF the "patriotic vanguard" of Puerto Rico. That is to say, it is the nationalist cause and urge that gives it life. But it is internationalist in outlook. Besides its pact of solidarity with the NLF in South Vietnam, the movement has representatives on the executive committees of the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the Latin American Students' Organization, both based in Havana.

As Mari Bras says, "Puerto Rico is battling against time in its struggle to save its nationhood." Only a crisis in the U.S. colonial system will force independence. The sort of crisis MPI speaks of in this regard is a massive unified demand by the island's people that makes their outright colonial status an embarrassment to the United States. The only force that can create the crisis, MPI believes, is the working class when it is organized. The development of workers' cadres is to be a main focus of the organization from now on.

The United States does not want a Puerto Rico free and independent to determine its own course. Nor, says Mari Bras, does it want a state with its own nationality. But the Yankees too see the possibility of a crisis developing in its system. So it attempts to destroy the Puerto Rican nationality through its military-economic-cultural penetration of the island. If the United States should succeed in its offensive, it could then grant Puerto Rico statehood at the point of crisis.

Meanwhile, the Movimiento Pro-Independencia organizes in the slums of the cities and the hovels of the countryside, among university and high school students, and in the growing industrial working class. They are, they say, a patriotic vanguard leading a national struggle of survival. While nationalism is the cause and self-reliance the urgent need, MPI is by no means unaware of the role of anti-imperialist North Americans. In fact, they see it as our responsibility to fight with them for independence. Ultimately, says one MPI leader, "What you do in the United States may well determine the fate of Puerto Rico's nationhood."

Michael Meyerson is a frequent contributor to RAMPARTS.

CURRENT EVENTS

This section of the paper is devoted to those stories, poems, essays, or editorials which have been written by Puerto Rican Students, and represent the ideas of the Puerto Rican People or the present generation of students.

I wrote this argumentative composition after the tragic event at Kent University, in which 4 students were shot to death. I wanted to write a composition that would show both sides of the story, so I wrote "The Kent Massacre". The composition puts across the main questions that were asked by millions of students around the world: "Where is the sniper the National Guard saw?" "Why did the National Guard shoot into a crowd, and not at the so called 'sniper'?" and "Why did they shoot the students in the head and chest?" The National Guard could not answer these questions, so the students answered them for them by holding thousands of demonstrations, and a huge national strike.

The "Kent Massacre" was indeed tragic, but at least it has helped unite the students to keep pushing for an end to the Vietnam War.

THE KENT MASSACRE

On Monday May 4, 1970 after a violent confrontation between the students and the National Guard, four Kent University students were shot to death and eleven others wounded. This resulted in a wave of anti-war demonstrations around the country aimed at pressuring the President into ending his Cambodian Invasion and withdrawing American Troops from Vietnam. This has been the biggest incident involving dissent against the Vietnam War, and it has united the students of all races into a powerful coalition.

First let us look at the side of the National Guard. The National Guard said that they were fired upon by a sniper, and that thus they had to turn to their rifles in self defense. This is a good story, except for the fact that eye witnesses did not see a sniper, nor hear any shots before the fatal incident.

Another important part of the problem is that if the National Guard really did see a sniper, they were supposed to first fire a warning shot, and then aim at the building in which the sniper was hiding, for the kill. However, this did not happen on May 4. A National Guardsman turned around and fired shoulder-level into the crowd, which started the chain reaction of shots. As we can see from the four slain students, they were all either shot in the head, or the chest. Something contradictory to the National Guard Handbook which says that they're supposed to shoot in the arm or leg of a person, and not at such a vital point as the head or chest.

Now let us see the side of the students. The students say that they were fired upon by the National Guard for no particular reason. They do not deny that some of the students were throwing rocks and bottles, but they cannot see why this would cause a group of men who are supposed to be "specially trained" for this, to fire at another group for no particular reason. After all, do you think such a confrontation is fair, rocks and bottles-----against automatic

rifles? That is almost the same as having a duel between two persons, and letting one of them use a gun, and the other a bean-shooter. These so-called "specially trained" men panicked, and in so doing took the lives of four students.

The events following the "Kent Massacre" show the love that all the students in the world have for each other. It also shows that they are not afraid of making their thoughts known to the government. We can see the pressure that they applied on President Nixon when he agreed with many of their thoughts on public television. The "Kent Massacre" has been one of the battles in the quest of having peace in Vietnam——four students died——but their deaths will be remembered always.

By: Carmelo A. Colon

This poem came about because of the need to express the feelings that most of us develop in a system that thrives on racism. Perhaps as you read it you will see a certain paradox. "The sad thing about prejudice is that the haters turn the victims into haters." We don't know all the answers yet. The Black Panthers say "In order to stop the gun we must pick up the gun". Perhaps in order to stop hatred we must hate enough to stop it.

FROM ME TO YOU (To whomever you may be, from whomever I may be)

FREEDOM, FREEDOM!

Let me be free from you and you and you. I don't want your hatred nor that friendship that enslaves.

I WANT TO BE ME

Without you to mold me, to help me, to love me, to hate me.

I WANT TO BE FREE

From your enslavement, and even from your freedom.

I WANT TO GROW

But not to owe

I WANT TO LEARN

But I don't want to be taught....
(insolent platitudes that teach me theories)

I WANT ME TO LEARN

Realities that might be harsh,
so that I may grow but not owe.

I HATE YOUR UNDERSTANDING

That has grown out of
misunderstanding.

I HATE YOUR TRUTH

That has been born out of lies

I HATE YOUR LIBERAL THOUGHTS

Even your radical thoughts,
the more you help-the less
you do-the more I owe.

I HATE AND I HATE, BUT MOST OF ALL I
HATE YOU AND I HATE MYSELF: I HATE YOU
FOR MY CONDITIONING, I HATE ME FOR
MY HATE.....

By: Fred Natal

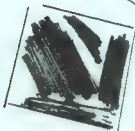
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SOLEDAD SOLEDAD

Por: Fred Natal

*¡Oh Soledad, que a fuerza de andar sola,
se siente de sí misma compañera!*
Miles miles



Y hubieron días de soledad, y noches...
Y seguirán habiendo... y no importa.
Y seguire esperando... y no importa.
Soy feliz al sentirme así sola, y no importa.
No hay mente, ni noche que de interponga.
Hay un vuelo de sensaciones y de emociones.
Hay felicidad, no hay maldad, no hay envidia.
Solo hay cierta soledad en la soledad que no se explica.
Oh, de entiendo... sólo se siente.
Es que se siente al autor supremo, al padre de la vida.
Se comprende el universo, la eternidad, y a Dios.
Contemplamos la humanidad desde las alturas,
nuestras pequeñas vidas, nuestros pobres y ricos, nuestras riquezas,
Pero que pequeños todos al sentir la felicidad de la soledad,
al sentir la comunión de la soledad,
al sentir a Dios en nosotros,
así...
así...

Alí, soledad, si alguien te apreciara
así...

Soy un estudiante del programa C.O.P.E. en Newark, New Jersey. Mi inspiración sobre esta pequeña composición titulada "Unidad" señala un tema verídico en nuestra era. Mi mayor propósito en esta composición es unir a la humanidad para que la paz reine entre los seres humanos.

UNIDAD

¿Porqué la humanidad se fija en las diferencias de razas?

¿Qué diferencia existe entre un Asiático, un Africano, un Europeo,
o un Americano.

Y digo Americano porque todos los que son nativos del Continente de
America son Americanos, no sólo son los estadounidenses Americanos.

¿Acaso no somos todos humanos?

¿Acaso todos no tenemos que trabajar para poder vivir?

¿Acaso todos no llevamos sangre en las venas?

¿Acaso todos no comemos, dormimos, y respiramos el mismo aire?

¿Acaso a veces no necesitamos de otras personas?

¿Acaso no necesitamos sexo para olvidar los malos ratos de esta vida?

¿Existe alguna diferencia entre unas u otras razas? NO. Entonces
porque no nos tratamos como hermanos y nos unimos para poder gozar
de todas las riquezas de nuestra naturaleza.

Tal vez esto no se pueda lograr en diez ni veinte décadas, pero si la
mayoría de las personas que han tenido cierto nivel cultural ayudaran
al prójimo, es posible que se logre lo dicho anteriormente;

no debemos pensar en nosotros ya que nuestro destino está hecho, sino
que debemos pensar en nuestros hijos, nietos y biznietos.....

Ellos serán los beneficiados en el futuro y si no se hace nada para que
ellos puedan tener paz y felicidad, ellos serán los perjudicados.

BY: William S. Valdes

JUVENTUD

No debemos desanimarnos.

Debemos de seguir luchando como lo hicieron nuestros Abuelos, Tatarabuelos,
y Antepasados.

Debemos de superarnos culturalmente para así poder obtener nuestros
derechos humanos,

Para que ningún gobierno nos explote, como lo han hecho hasta ahora.
Ya ha llegado la hora de abrir los ojos.

De quitarles los disfraces a los gobiernos.

Ya basta de embustes de promesas falsas, que todo lo hacen con el propósito
de dominar
y de saquear las riquezas de los países.

Tenemos que hacerles ver que la juventud está en acción y que no
descansaremos hasta obtener "La Libertad" de los yugos opresores.

Sólo reclamamos nuestros derechos: Libertad, Igualdad, Paz, y Felicidad.

Juventud pregúntense todos los días:

¿Que haré hoy para el prójimo?

By: William S. Valdes

"NO DES TU TIERRA AL EXTRAÑO
POR MÁS QUE TE PAGUE BIEN.
EL QUE SU TERRUÑO VENDE
VENDE LA PATRIA CON ÉL."

POR: VIRGILIO DAVILA

CULTURAL

This section of the paper is dedicated to those persons whom have contributed to the History of Puerto Rico of which we are, as Puerto Ricans proud of. It is also dedicated to those Puerto Ricans whom have demonstrated their culture and history proudly throughout this country.

Agustín Stahl (1842-1917)

SURGEON, AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SCIENTIST. Born in Aguadilla. Of German descent, studied at University of Prague, 1864. Established permanent residence in Bayamon, where he became Puerto Rico's first naturalist, and one of the first and foremost archeologists. Became Professor of Natural History at Spanish Institute of Secondary Education, 1874. Published two volumes on sugar cane diseases, after research at Agricultural Station, Mayagüez, 1878. Authored first history of early indians of Puerto Rico, 1890. Classified and sketched 2300 botanical specimens, which were purchased by a scientific society of New Orleans, 1900. Died 1917..

CIRUJANO, INVESTIGADOR CIENTIFICO EN LA AGRICULTURA. Nació en Aguadilla. De parentesco alemán, estudió en la Universidad de Wurzburg; recibió su título de Médico-Cirujano en la Universidad de Praga, 1864. Fijo su residencia en Bayamon, donde se hizo el primer naturalista de Puerto Rico y uno de los primeros y más destacados arqueólogos. Llegó a ser Profesor de la Historia Natural en el Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza, 1874. Publicó dos tomos sobre la enfermedad de la caña, tras investigaciones hechas en el Centro Agrícola de Mayagüez, 1878. Escribió la primera historia de los indios aborígenes de Puerto Rico, 1890. Clasificó y dibujó a mano 2300 especímenes botánicos, los cuales fueron comprados por una sociedad científica de Nueva Orleans, 1900. Murió en 1917.

¡Sola!

Por José Yumet Mínden

Ayer la vi flotar por vez primera
en las torres del Morro y San Cristóbal,
Era la enseña de la Patria libre
tendida como un ala victoriosa.
La misma que en el duro coloniaje
fue rayo de esperanza entre las sombras,
sudario donde yacen los despojos
de aquellos que sin miedo a la derrota
supieron consagrarse, sin rendirse
al halago de fáciles victorias.

Ayer la vi flotar, pero a su lado
radiaban las estrellas de la otra.
La que nació entre el humo del combate
al rumor undivago del Potomac
y brilla en los espacios soberanos
sin que otro pabellón le preste sombra.

Ayer la vi flotar, pero a su lado
ondulaban las franjas de la otra.

Así yo no la quiero. De ese modo
no la soñó la mente del patriota;
que en la vida, los hombres si son puros,
no cambian — por ventajas — esas cosas
que son símbolos eternos de la Patria,
reliquias de un ayer que no se compra.
Que yo la quiero ver en esas torres
y en dondequiera que la Patria neonata
tendida en el espacio, pero ¡¡SOLA!!



AGUSTIN STAHL (1842-1917)



Manolo, el leñero

Por Luis Lloréns Torres

¡Fuiste, en el besto redentor, tan fuerte,
Caíste al caer, con la mano mutilada,
Alto al zaste la enseña ensanarentada
dando aquel grito: ¡INDEPENDENCIA O MUERTE!

¿O se si lo destrucia o si la suerte
abrió tu fosa en la Primer Jornada.
¿No oyes la envilecida corcaloda
de tu Pueblo incapaz de comprenderte?

Tu pecho todo se volvió una rosa
al derramar tu sangre generosa
por el Pueblo infeliz que en tompo verro
ello siente el deshonor de ser esclavo,
Y sus cadenas lame, como un perro,
Y como un perro, meanea el rabo.

S O C I A L S E C T I O N

This section of the paper will contain reports on the various organizations and clubs which have open up in New Jersey. It will also contain advertizing on coming dances, meetings, and various cores.

Junio 30

"Poor People Gathering"

La Asociación de Directores de Agencias sobre la Pobreza, invita a toda la gente pobre para una demostración masiva que tendrá lugar en Trenton, para protestar al gobierno por:

1. El mal uso de los fondos destinados a la gente pobre.
2. El corte de dinero que le han impuesto a Community Affair.
3. Informe sobre los fondos de Emergencia que el gobernador tiene.

ECT.

Junio 30, ALL DAY

Junio 30, ALL DAY

INF. 271-7400
 271-7953

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY CLASSES
EVERY WEDNESDAY

Learn about the culture
which they are trying
to take away from us.

Every wednesday at 6:00 P.M.

at Aspira,
20-24 Branford PL., 3 rd floor

Don't miss this opportunity
come and bring all your friends.

Thursday June 25

THE Young Lord Party
will clean-up Wood St. and thus
liberate it from the dirt that
the Sanitation Department has failed
to clean-up.

They have not done their job
so it is time for the people to
unite and do it.

All those interested
meet in front of
75 Park Ave.

"Power To The People"

June 30

"Jira" to Lake Hopatcong

Sponsored by the Young Lord Party

All those interested
in going or of signing-up
as volunteers, can do so
at the Newark Christian
Center, 75 Park Ave.

Adult
volunteers
are
needed

Please sign up

PARENTS

don't
forget

to sign up your
children

for the Summer Bilingual
Program

which starts

July 6

For further information

call the

Board of Education

Remember People:

This is your paper. It will
Either fall or Stand
according to your Support

SO PLEASE SUPPORT
your Newspaper

Recuerda Compañero:

Éste es tu periódico. El éxito
o fracaso del mismo depende del
apoyo que tú le brindes. Por tanto,
préstanos tu ayuda.

Para mayor información escriba a:
For further information write to:

EL BORICUA
ROOM 305
20-24 BRANFORD PLACE,
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, 07102